MOTHER EARTH

Vol. VI. FEBRUARY, 1912 No. 12

CONTENTS

	Page
The Smith and the King Edward Carpenter	353
To Our Comrades and Friends	354
Observations and Comments	355
The Reformers on the Wrong Track	362
The Roman Spider A. B. McKenzie	364
The Faith and Record of Anarchists Hippolyte Havel	367
Syndicalist Tendencies in the American Labor Movement Max Baginski	371
The Mexican Revolution Voltairine de Cleyre	374
A Letter from W. C. Owen	381
To the Comrades of Mother Earth Jay Fox	382
An Interesting Event	383
The Outcast Saxe	384

EMMA GOLDMAN - - - - PUBLISHER
ALEXANDER BERKMAN - - - EDITOR
Office: 55 West 28th Street, New York City
Price, 10 Cents per Copy One Dollar per Year

Commune Festival

COMBINED WITH THE

Seventh Mother Earth Birthday

WILL BE CELEBRATED WITH

BALL and Appropriate Addresses

Friday, March 15th, 8 P. M.

AT

TERRACE LYCEUM, 206 E. Broadway

TICKET, 25 CENTS HAT CHECK, 10 CENTS

For the information of the numerous inquirers about

ALEXANDER BERKMAN'S

BOOK

It is now receiving its first baptism in printer's ink. We are still open for advance orders

MOTHER EARTH

Monthly Magazine Devoted to Social Science and Literature

Published Every 15th of the Month

EMMA GOLDMAN, Proprietor, 55 West 28th Street, New York, N. Y.
Entered as second-class matter April 9, 1906, at the post office at New York, N. Y.,
under the Act of Congress of March 3, 1879.

Vol. VI **FEBRUARY, 1912** **No. 12**

THE SMITH AND THE KING

By EDWARD CARPENTER.

A Smith upon a summer's day
Did call upon a king:
The King exclaimed, "The Queen's away,
Can I do anything?"

"I pray you can," the Smith replied;
"I want a bit of bread."
"Why?" cried the King. The fellow sighed:
"I'm hungry, sire," he said.

"Dear me, I'll call my Chancellor,
He understands such things;
Your claims I cannot cancel, or
Deem them fit themes for kings."

"Sir Chancellor, why here's a wretch
Starving like rats or mice!"
The Chancellor replied, "I'll fetch
The first Lord in a trice."

The first Lord came and by his look
You might have guessed he'd shirk;
Said he, "Your majesty's mistook,
This is the Chief Clerk's work."

The Chief Clerk said the case was bad,
But quite beyond his power,
Seeing it was the Steward had
The keys of cake and flour.

The Steward sobbed: "The keys I've lost,
Alas, but in a span
I'll call the Smith. Why, Holy Ghost!
Here is the very man!"

"Hurrah! Hurrah! They loudly cried,
How cleverly we've done it!
We've solved this question, deep and wide,
Well-nigh ere we'd begun it."

"Thanks!" said the Smith; "O fools and vile,
Go rot upon the shelf!
The next time I am starving, I'll
Take care to help myself."

TO OUR COMRADES AND FRIENDS

WE BEGIN our annual lecture tour with Cleveland, O., Feb. 10th, 11th and 12th. Lorain, Feb. 13, 8 p. m., at Owl's Hall, on "Anarchism the Moving Spirit in the Labor Struggle." Elyria, O., Feb. 14, 8 p. m., G. A. R. Hall, "Maternity." Columbus, Feb. 16, 8 p. m., at Labor Hall, 121 E. Town St., "Maternity;" Feb. 17, 3 p. m., "Art and Revolution;" Feb. 17, 8 p. m., "Anarchism, the Moving Spirit in the Labor Struggle." Dayton, O., Feb. 18, watch local papers. Indianapolis, Ind., at Walhalla Hall, 339 E. Washington St., Feb. 21st, 8 p. m., "Maternity;" Feb. 22nd, 3 p. m., "Art and Revolution;" 8 p. m., "Anarchism, the Moving Spirit in the Labor Struggle." St. Louis, Mo., beginning Feb. 25th, six lectures; watch local papers.

Chicago, Hod Carriers' Hall, Harrison and Halsted streets, Sunday, March 3, 3 p. m., "Anarchism, the Moving Spirit in the Labor Struggle;" Sunday, March 3, 8 p. m., "Art and Revolution;" Monday, March 4, 8 p. m., "Maternity," a Drama by Brieux (Why the poor should not have children); Tuesday, March 5, 8 p. m., "Socialism caught in the political trap;" Wednesday, March 6, 8 p. m., Debate with Dr. Denslow Lewis, "Resolved, that the institution of marriage is detrimental to the best interests of society," Emma Goldman, Affirm., Dr. Denslow Lewis, Neg.; Thursday,

March 7, 8 p. m., "The Failure of Christianity." Two last lectures at Oakland Music Hall, 40th St. and Cottage Grove Ave., Saturday, March 9, 3 p. m., "Communism, the most Practical Basis for Society;" 8 p. m., "Sex, the great element of creative work."

March 10 and 11 to be devoted to Milwaukee. Halls to be announced later.

Those wishing to assist with the meetings can get circulars from Dr. J. H. Greer, 162 N. Dearborn St., Chicago.

Comrades desiring to arrange lectures in their cities please communicate with us at once. Address: Emma Goldman, 55 West 28th St., New York.

OBSERVATIONS AND COMMENTS

FROM the industrial battlefield at Lawrence comes the news of military terror, murder, and violence.

The struggle has already claimed two victims: Anna Lapizzo, who was fatally shot during a skirmish with the militia, and John Rami, who was bayonetted to death by a soldier.

Those responsible—directly and indirectly—for the twofold murder are the civil and military authorities, who serve the cause of the manufacturers by spilling the blood of the workers and attacking every peaceful passerby like highway robbers.

These authorities planned a great *coup* by arresting the strike leaders Joseph Ettor and Arturo Giovannetti, editor of the New York Italian labor paper, *Il Proletario*. They were taken in custody on the charge of complicity in the killing of Anna Lapizzo. The accusation is baseless, but it serves the purpose of the textile magnates to get Ettor out of the way. It is but another case where "justice" openly and shamelessly plays the bloodhound for the money power.

State and capital work hand in glove at Lawrence; perfect harmony prevails between them. Governor Foss, who ordered two thousand soldiers to protect the interests of the exploiters, is himself a mill owner. The President of Harvard University is interested, as one of the stockholders, in the dividends from the Lawrence

factories. How fortunate that the baseball and football imbeciles of his university are eager to play the executioners at Lawrence. It will surely have a salutary effect upon their education to be permitted to defend the interests of their President with bayonet and bullet.

In Europe the student bodies have often marched at the head of popular uprisings, enthusiastically battling on the side of the people. Here the students are miserable ruffians and scabs in the service of the plutocracy.

Indeed, it is because of high dividends that Lawrence has been converted into a shambles. Consider these figures:

The American Woolen Company, owning the biggest mills, has a capital of $69,500,000, and a surplus of $11,271,454. It pays 7 per cent.

The Pacific Mills have $3,000,000 capital, a surplus of $6,127,000. They pay more than 12 per cent. The market price in 1912 of the Pacific stock has advanced to $3,775 a share, a gain of $445 per share for the year.

In 1907 the Pacific Mills paid an extra dividend of 20 per cent. in cash.

The Arlington Mills have $8,000,000 capital and a surplus of $2,824,309. In 1905 these mills paid an extra dividend of 33 per cent. in cash.

The above fully clarifies the situation.

The hordes of police, soldiers, detectives, and university ruffians have been turned loose upon the helpless textile workers to force them by hunger and violence to continue to fill the coffers of the masters and to perpetuate their corrupt political and industrial despotism.

Workers of America! The American Federation of Labor is neither willing nor able to help the starving strikers in Lawrence—the leaders of that "powerful" body are too busy mending their moral record. It is for you, workingmen, to hasten to the aid of your striking brothers. It is your struggle, the struggle of all labor now being fought in Lawrence. Come to their aid!

Contributions are to be sent to Joseph Bedard, Secretary Strike Committee, 9 Mason St., Lawrence, Mass.

* * *

FOSS, the reform Governor of Massachusetts, has expressed his determination to check the least indication of Anarchist tendencies with the whole power at his command. In the language of capitalist states-

manship it is equivalent to a threat of military violence.

A little more diplomacy, Mr. Governor. If every timid attempt of labor to improve economic conditions is called Anarchy, the workers will presently perceive that the Anarchists are their best friends.

* * *

THE same Governor has also declared that the "putting down" of Anarchy is only one half of the government's mission. The other half consists in a just and impartial investigation of the conditions and grievances of the workers of Lawrence.

Investigations! The country is overflooded with them. If the good people were not a mass of concentrated apathy and dullness, these thousand and one investigations would have long since been laughed out of existence.

What do the investigations achieve? At best, if sincere and honest, which is very rarely the case, they lead only to the moats and walls of the citadels of profit. There they stop short; there they must halt. For behind these fortifications lies the sanctity of the existing, the sacredness of private possession, the inviolability of dividends.

All these investigations are necessarily a farce, because the legislative committees neither want nor dare disclose the true causes of the discontent, unrest, and poverty. Rather do they consider it their duty to obscure these causes.

The proposed investigation cannot in the least help the strikers of Lawrence. Instead of waiting for it, the workingmen would do much better to rely on their own initiative, and resort to direct action and the general strike.

* * *

ONE year is past since Comrade Denjiro Kotoku and his coworkers suffered death in Tokio for their ideal. By that legal murder of Anarchist thinkers the Japanese government joined the circle of modern despotic countries which pretend to be civilized, although their barbarism is but lightly glossed over with varnish. The government of Japan prides itself on having quickly absorbed the putrid excrescences

of Western civilization. But when in the coming days the trumpet of social revolution will sound the death knell of this false civilization, the spirit of Kotoku and his comrades will be the inspiration of the soldiers of liberty.

* * *

THOUGH the Cuban administration must dance to the tune of Wall Street and Washington, the latter feel that the obedience of "Cuba libre" is not yet sufficiently servile. An order was recently issued by the American government that if the Cuban people do not "behave" better, they may expect a bloody military invasion.

The only consolation of Cuba is that the liberty of the American subjects is not much greater than their own. Here there is unlimited liberty of speech—but only for the desirable element. The undesirables receive it from the police and judges in small rations. We also enjoy freedom of the press, but it is not advisable to put it to the test. Else one might fare badly, as, for instance, Comrade Jay Fox, editor of the *Agitator,* and many more have learned.

* * *

ON another page our readers will find a communication from Comrade Jay Fox, giving details of the new assault upon the "guaranteed liberties." His conviction for "publishing matter tending to create disrespect for the law" improves the prospects of the editors and publishers of America of being placed on a level with mad dogs, who are forced to wear a muzzle.

* * *

IN AN official proclamation Madero, Diaz the Little, sheds crocodile tears over the necessity of suspending the constitutional guarantees in two States and several districts. Far from him be it, he asseverates, to play the dictator. It is sad, indeed, that the cardinal rights of man must be suspended; but what is one to do when the terrible ghost of Anarchy is raising its head? Thus speaks the mouthpiece of Madero:

Anarchist fomentations which, lamentably, are prospering in

the State of Morelos, and which have been propagated in the State of Guerrero and the Districts coterminous with the States of Mexico and Puebla, oblige him (Madero) to ask for a means of social salvation, which is supreme. The Executive does not pretend to convert himself by this initiative, even provisionally, into a dictatorial power, but to provide measures for deciding the fate of those who fall beneath the jurisdiction of the authorities as determined by the present initiative of the law, in conformity with the legitimate demands of public opinion as the echo and genuine revealer of the instinct of social conservation.

Why all this pretence and devious ways? Madero and his clique plan to deliver Mexico and its people into the robber hands of high finance; therefore the meagre remnants of "guarantees" must be sacrificed.

* * *

IT is no easy matter to be a pillar of a rotten society. There is, for instance, General Grey Otis, of Los Angeles. He is now kept feverishly busy explaining to the dealers in real estate and human flesh that in spite of dynamiting and explosions, there are splendid prospects in his city of every swindle, corruption, and prostitution bringing good profits. To inspire the business worthies with greater confidence, he pictures in the *Times* the vision of the coming glory of the City of Los Angeles. When the Panama Canal will be thrown open to navigation, the people from foreign lands will stream into the Angel City. My, what a market for the rotten wares! And how cheaply labor will be gotten!

But in this cup of joy there are bitter dregs. Listen to the fears of the honest General:

With the opening of the canal, it is generally admitted, steamship rates will be made direct to this port that will be surprisingly low. And we must prepare for a tremendous rush. What shall be done? Who will look after these strange peoples? Where shall they be sent? How shall the dangerous element be handled? How shall the innocent and ignorant be kept out of the hands of those who will be awaiting them to preach Anarchy and breed crime? Shall the State and county authorities get into action and make arrangements for looking after the horde from foreign lands that will come for assimilation and citizenship?

Would it not be advisable to refer this difficult problem to a detective bureau? With the aid of a reliable strike-breaker firm, the sleuths will surely know how to "handle" the "dangerous element" to the entire satisfaction of patriotic souls like Otis.

CARDINAL FARLEY'S pompous swaggering into New York made an overpowering impression on that grand national windbag, Burke Cockran. The result was a fit of cheap enthusiasm in which he rose to the lofty height of the declamation that, in face of such a glorious event, "Anarchists became contemptible as vermin infesting the rat holes of civilization."

The great windbag is mistaken in the address. The most dangerous of all vermin haunt the churches, those darkest and filthiest rat holes of civilization, and the headquarters of political corruption where Burke Cockran is at home.

* * *

IN the *Pittsburgh Catholic* Cardinal Gibbons writes: "Obey cheerfully those whom Providence has placed over you. Remember that all legitimate authority came from God."

According to this interpretation, the Lord in Heaven is chief prosecutor and executioner, whose mantle of authority descends upon the terrestrial prosecutors and executioners, to hide therein their inhumanity.

Quite in harmony with the role which God has always played in the history of humanity.

* * *

BESIDES Roosevelt and Sleuth Burns there is now a new national hero—the whiskey dealer of Philadelphia who caused the arrest of the Irish players, because the performance of the "Playboy of the Western World" offended his delicate moral sense.

This worthy trio, arms linked, would prove a splendid subject for a monument, to take the place of the Statue of Liberty in the New York harbor.

* * *

A MONTHLY magazine, MOTHER EARTH often delays to apprise the public of the latest advance in humanitarianism. It is therefore probable that our readers have already heard the news from Wilmington, Del. But it does not matter. They may read it again. Every inhabitant of the free republic ought to read it. It should be published far and wide over the country. Its contents are more important than a thousand proclamations of Taft:

With arms tied to the extended arms of a cross and with backs bared to the zero gale, two men were mercilessly lashed in the courtyard of the county workhouse here to-day as part payment of the toll the State exacts for their crimes.

John Brewington received 40 lashes with a cat-o'-nine-tails, in addition to which he will serve two years in prison, for highway robbery. Arthur Johnson got 20 lashes and will serve one year for larceny.

The men suffered frightfully from the cold and from blood-letting lashes and staggered semi-conscious back to their cells. The whippings, as are all Delaware whippings, were public, and a morbid crowd stood against the prison walls and saw the heavy leather strap with its nine thongs cut deep into the quivering flesh of the wretches.

Brewington was whipped first. The back, blue from the cold, shivered and shook as the first blow of the strap fell, cutting nine bloody welts straight across. Ten times the scourge fell, straight down, and 90 livid welts showed on his quivering back. Then, by moving his position, Warden Crawford made the strap strike at an angle. Ten blows thus, and the angle was changed, until, when the 40 cruel blows had landed, a perfect grill of embossed flesh, torn and bruised, showed across his back.

Johnson, nude to the waist, stood by all the while, shivering with cold and fright; involuntarily he braced himself as each blow landed on Brewington's shoulders, as if he could feel the pain himself. Then, when Brewington's torture was ended, Johnson was led to the cross, pilloried and lashed.

* * *

BELGIAN papers published the report that the Supreme Court of Spain reviewed the evidence presented at the trial of the martyred Francisco Ferrer, with the result that the verdict of the lower courts was declared null and void. The report still awaits further confirmation.

And if true? The murder cannot be undone. Those responsible for it will neither be shot at the wall of Montjuich, nor can it be hoped that they possess manhood enough to commit suicide. Were they even to do so, everything would remain as before: the bloodthirst of the Catholic Church and the rottenness of "justice" that prostituted itself in her behalf.

* * *

ON the 29th of last month Alexander Jonas, the founder and editor of the *Volkszeitung*, died in New York. He came to America shortly after the Civil War and was since closely affiliated with the labor movement in this country.

Alexander Jonas was unfriendly disposed toward Anarchism, and repeatedly attacked it in his editorials. But those who knew him more intimately were aware that his motives were of the highest and that his attitude was based on honest conviction. Frequently we had opportunity to admire the intense idealism of the deceased. Among our most vivid recollections is the glowing tribute he paid on the occasion of the monster meeting held in memory of Louise Michel—an event particularly significant because of the participation of two other veterans of the revolution, John Most and "Babushka" Breshkovskaia.

* * *

THIS issue concludes the sixth year of MOTHER EARTH. We hope that the friends our magazine has made during its existence will continue their active interest in the little fighter and the ideas it advocates.

THE REFORMERS ON THE WRONG TRACK

WHATEVER may be said, the dynamite of the McNamaras has exerted a strong, vitalizing influence on many a sterile and ossified mind. The usually drowsy public opinion was suddenly roused: for an instant it had a gleam of the deep social chasm, across which the opposing armies face each other in a deathly struggle.

Even the shallow waters on which the well-meaning reformers sail their toy boats, became so agitated that they seemed almost like real waves.

Affrighted and morally shocked that the proletarians have begun to resort to violence—proletarians whose mission it is to endure violence, not to employ it—the reformers took counsel how best to defend and preserve society in the future. Jane Addams, the reform Rabbi Wise, et al. submitted a petition to President Taft, appealing to that fat champion of existing social injustice to cause a thorough investigation to determine the causes responsible for the terrible lawlessness of the workers.

Ah, the good reform lambs! Who would be so cruel

to cast doubt upon their kind hearts? But as to their intelligence—something is indeed poorly there.

They have turned entirely in the wrong direction. Taft and the other upholders of the State are employed and paid just for the purpose of masking and hiding the real causes of the growing discontent and lawlessness among the toilers. If the government should seriously and honestly attempt such an investigation as desired by Jane Addams and the other petitioners, it would have to place itself in the dock as a defendant. Do the reformers really assume that the government would commit suicide for virtuous and moral considerations? Hardly. The State knows neither virtue nor morality. Its sole aim is to strengthen and perpetuate its sway and prestige.

It is the government itself—with its president, hypocritical justice, corrupt politics and thousandfold forms of violence, oppressing downward and distributing privileges upward—that is causing ever growing numbers to realize that the laws are made *for* the rich, *against* the poor.

Respect for law must appear to the intelligent workingman as unnatural as the command to respect the strait jacket in which one is to be chained.

Whatever is done to further the exploitation and oppression of labor, is always accomplished by means of the law. Under its protection plutocrats, trustocrats and bureaucrats rob the people; they dictate the price of bread as they dictate the price of the intellectual prostitutes who must aid them to make the people drunk with sham prosperity and patriotism.

Again, it is by means of the law that every protest and opposition to these robber tactics is brutally stifled. At every step the law places obstacles in the way of labor, to hinder the development of its strength. The field of its activity is constantly being narrowed by punitive statutes, and every effort for betterment condemned as conspirative. It is the law which sanctions modern slavery with all its terrible results. Aye, more: the State tolerates and protects the Burnses and Pinkertons, with their armies of spies who make a business of tricking, trapping, and provoking labor.

And in the face of all this the reformers are naive

enough to ask whence the lawlessness of the workers? Much saner would it be to inquire why there still be workingmen who believe in law, since everyday experience must teach them that legality is the noose with which all their human rights are strangled. They cannot help but see in the State and the laws a complex system of coercion that seeks to perpetuate them in subjection and misery.

It is easy to be law-abiding if the law affords you all the privileges of monopoly, of riches and power. The usurers who raise the price of bread have indeed good reason to love the law. But it is no cause for us to mourn and sorrow that the workers begin to ignore and defy the law. It is a symptom of awakening, to be welcomed with joy.

In the increase of lawlessness of the workers, these days of hypocritical adaptation, there lies almost the sole hope that the old institutions are decaying and will die, and that in the consciousness of the intelligent workers there is germinating the outline of a new society in which legalized man-murder will be a thing of the past.

Of course, it would be too much to expect the Hull House and Rabbi Wise to understand these things. They will continue to petition for investigations. But we rejoice that blind submission to the laws is beginning to be looked upon as something mortal.

❦ ❦ ❦

THE ROMAN SPIDER

By A. B. McKENZIE.

WHEN the poor carpenter of Nazareth, making a virtue of the people's need, preached submission, poverty, and resignation, he did not dream that his precept would serve as a foundation for a new, world-wide despotism. And yet it happened quite naturally: from the humility of the people, from their cowardly resignation, the Catholic Church drew the lesson that pride, greed, ambition, and riches are the necessary means for the establishment of tyranny over mankind.

In this land a Catholic was looked upon in former times as an imp of hell, a leper to be avoided and shunned, one whom the old Puritan fathers would have best liked to see in the pillory.

But conditions have radically changed. The Roman spider has succeeded in persuading the American government and American capital that it can do them very valuable service by benighting the minds of the people. And now this spider is high in the councils of the nation, much respected, and is exploiting the situation with characteristic secrecy and brazenness.

They build showy churches with the money of the stupid and the sinners. Quite often with a school, as an annex, for the Church has always realized that it is much easier to shear the grown sheep if the young ones were previously benumbed with the fear of God and the devil.

The Roman spider recently held his triumphant entry into New York, in the person of Cardinal Farley. Everything in the city that bears the official stamp became Catholic on that occasion. Politicians, bureaucrats, the priests of other denominations, and—not to forget—the newspaper scribes vied with each other in showing respect and servility before the fat spider.

Indeed, the Cardinal selected an appropriate moment for his triumph. Every day the papers reported numerous cases of men and women starved and frozen to death. Men were committing suicide because they could not witness the misery of their hungry wives and children. Mothers were beholding their babes dying for want of nourishment and shelter. The cries of despair of the disinherited and submerged seldom reach the ears of their well-fed fellow humans. Even God may not have heard them—he was too absorbed by the sight of the splendidly illuminated and richly decorated cathedral. And then the wonderful vestments, the jewels and diamonds of the Cardinal and his brilliant suite! The cost of all the frippery was sufficient to clothe and feed hundreds of unfortunates for months, even years.

But what concern are the poor to the preacher of a gospel that was allegedly proclaimed only for the poor? His residence is a palace on Fifth Avenue; he lives among millionaires, bankers, and trust magnates. He would order the poor carpenter of Nazareth thrown down the stairs, if he should attempt to approach him in his original attire.

When Jesus rode into Jerusalem on the back of an

ass's colt, it was the poor that spread palms on his way. The Pharisees and scribes kept in the background.. They were plotting to drag Jesus before the judge, to denounce him as a rioter, inciter, and blasphemer. On their side were the money changers and the usurers. Judas lay in wait,—a kind of McManigle of the gospel—biding an opportunity to deliver the homeless tramp-preacher into the hands of the authorities.

Quite differently Cardinal Farley rode into New York. The money changers and usurers were on his right. The Pharisees and scribes knelt before him and paid him homage. The authorities provided fourteen hundred policemen to escort him; numerous detectives guarded his safety. Only the poor were not invited to the spectacle. What wonder! The desperate fathers and mothers, whom the wretchedness of their children drives to crime and prostitution, would have spoiled the splendor and pomp of the parade. They may content themselves in their miserable hovels with the passport to heaven the priests have promised them. That the passport is counterfeit, many of these deluded victims know not, and that also is favorable for the Mother Church. They cannot return from Potter's field to tell how they were cheated of the "hereafter," after being robbed of the joys of this world.

Undoubtedly, Christianity is a great success!

We came near forgetting that the Cardinal was presented by the reception committee with a purse of $20,000, to cover the expenses of his journey. Need and hunger may stalk through the country—the Roman spider will not be affected by it. He is well fed and taken care of, because it is believed that he possesses a wonder-working panacea against atheism, Anarchy, and revolution. But the Church lies in this case, as usual. She exploits the superstitious faith in her power and makes use of means employed by the lowest fortune teller. And yet her web-spinners know in their hearts that her spell over the mind is broken. Her influence no longer rests on a deep, psychic need, but on stupid habit, business and corruption.

THE FAITH AND RECORD OF ANARCHISTS

By HIPPOLYTE HAVEL.

THE great spread of Anarchist ideas in the last decade seems to afford the capitalist press a good opportunity to emit a great deal of matter on the subject. This in itself is a good sign: it proves that the idea of Anarchy is taking root in the life of the people. The Anarchists are accustomed to having their faith misrepresented; every scribbler can earn his weekly board by penning an article against the propagandists of the new gospel. The Anarchists welcome the honest critic, and are glad indeed to present their theories and practice to the impartial thinker for a thorough investigation. But they resent it strongly if a writer, under the mask of impartiality, offers to the public a work on Anarchy which is tainted with dishonesty. Such a writer is far more dangerous than the ignorant penny-a-liner who fills up his columns with misinformation and false statements. To damn with faint praise is a favorite trick of some of our opponents.

To this class of opponents belongs Mr. Ernest Alfred Vizetelly, whose work "The Anarchists; their Faith and their Record," has just been published.* Nobody will accuse Mr. Vizetelly of great modesty. In the preface to his book he remarks quite diffidently that there are numerous works on the subject of the theories or doctrines of the Anarchists, but that his volume is the first to supply a history of their doings from the days of Bakunin, who may be regarded as the founder of the sect, down to the present time. In connection with this important subject the author deems it necessary to prove to his readers in a footnote that he comes from old English stock and that his great-grandfather was a member of the Stationers Company and constable of the united parishes of St. Ann Blackfriars and St. Andrew by the Wardrobe. This indeed predestines him to be a competent historian of the Anarchist movement. The truth is that Mr. Vizetelly is a worn-out British war-reporter, who

---

* John Lane Company, New York.

in former years also dabbled in literature, but who has great difficulty nowadays to find a publisher for his sensational stuff. For many years he succeeded in living on Zola's fame. His heyday was when Zola, forced to leave France on account of the Dreyfus affair, spent a year in exile in England. An article in which he described graphically how Zola went to the London shops to buy some socks was reprinted innumerable times by the Philistine press of Europe and America. What a sensation! The great romancier had to leave France without a pair of extra socks! The great war-reporter Vizetelly would never have committed such an act of imprudence. His socks are undoubtedly always carefully packed away in his Gladstone.

The Houndsditch affair, called the battle of Sydney Street in the military annals of Great Britain, in which another famous war-reporter, Mr. Winston Churchill, made an ass of himself by calling out the military force of London against two desperados, gave Mr. Vizetelly a golden opportunity to perpetrate his book on Anarchists, their faith and their record. To call his pasquil a history of Anarchist doings is quite as just as to call the rhymes of the present poet-laureate poems. The book is nothing more than a compilation made from old newspaper files. The interpretation of Anarchist deeds by the author is full of bias and dictated by his prejudices as a lawabiding Philistine, and as to his conclusions, they read like the prognostication from some old almanac. Whatever value the book may possess is taken from the sensational work "Le Peril Anarchiste," by Félix Dubois, published at Paris in 1894. The theoretical information is taken from Paul Eltzbacher's valuable work "Anarchism." The present book cannot compare with the work on Anarchy by Professor Zoccoli, of which Mr. Vizetelly seems to be quite ignorant. As to the real history of Anarchists, their faith and their deeds, nothing can be compared with the excellent and sympathetic account by Alvan F. Sanborn in his "Paris and the Social Revolution," published in 1905 at Boston and inscribed to the Proletariat of America. In this work the Anarchist propagandist has found an adequate interpretation.

Vizetelly stands stupid and blind before the heroism and sacrifice of the Anarchist propagandist. He heaps abuse on the heads of all the men and women who sacrificed themselves for their ideal. Ravachol is for him a monster; Henry a coldblooded coward; Caserio narrow-minded and imperfectly educated; Emile Pouget an "ex-counter-jumper" (a nice remark for a historian!); Louise Michel is "a female notoriety, an ex-schoolmistress called *La Vierge Rouge*. She had been mixed up in the Commune of 1871 and was transported to New Caledonia. It is quite certain, however, that her case was one for treatment in an hospital or asylum. Subject to hysteria, she had lost her mental balance."

This description of Louise Michel thoroughly characterizes Mr. Vizetelly. No comment is necessary. On the other hand, his tender heart nearly breaks with pity when he writes of the bitter loss of the good rulers, who suffer for their subjects and who are ever in danger from the dastardly Anarchists. One of his beloved monarchs, King Umberto of Italy, thought otherwise. At the time of the attempt on his life in 1897 by Pietro Accierito he remarked to his minister Ponzio Vaglia: *Sono gli incerti del mestiere!* (Those are the risks of the calling!) His calling was terminated a few years later by the revolver shots of Gaetano Bresci. Vizetelly repeats the old story, disproved long ago, of Bresci having been well-provided with money and clothes by his confederates in Paterson.

What are the sources of the author's historic information? In the account of the assassination of President Sadi Carnot by Caserio in Lyons he narrates that several of his wife's relatives were at that time residing at Lyons. In preparing his story of the assassination he "has utilized some notes sent to him by one of his brothers-in-law." Such are the facts of the historian Vizetelly! As to the character of Caserio, we possess a tender little study by Ada Negri, the greatest living Italian poetess, whose school the idealistic youth attended. But what does a Vizetelly care for the opinion of a poetess?

True, he repudiates in his book some misconcep-

tions about the Anarchists and their supposed secret organizations. But he himself is guilty of many misstatements and false conceptions. Referring to the *Mano Negra* affair in Andalusia he remarks naïvely: "We ourselves perpetuated a romance of the Black Hand several years ago—'The Scorpion.' We introduced into it some of the characters of the Jerez affair of 1882-1883, blending with episodes of that period others which occurred during the Federalist troubles of 1873 and the Anarchist rising of 1892, as well as others existent only in our imagination."

Imagination and secrecy play a great part in Mr. Vizetelly's writings. He gave us a "true" story of the Chevalier d'Eon—"with the aid of state and secret papers." No doubt he knows the worthlessness of secrecy. Yet his imagination leads him again to state and to repeat that Leon Czolgosz was influenced by Emma Goldman. His imagination leads him also to state that "There is some reason to think that Prince Kropotkin does not hold quite the same opinions on some matters (violence and social revolution) as he used to do." Yet he forgets to prove his statement.

Still as sometimes even a blind pig may find an acorn, so has Mr. Vizetelly a slight understanding of our ideas. To be sure this is the result of the fear of a loyal British bourgeois. His distinction between the Anti-militarism of the Anarchists and that of the Socialists is well taken. He says: "Nowadays Socialists as well as Anarchists denounce militarism, but we entertain no doubt that if Socialist rule should ever be established in Great Britain it will find itself constrained to establish some form of universal military service (if only by virtue of the principle that the same obligations rest on one and all) even if such service should not come before that time. Virtually all the Socialist theories embody principles of authority and compulsion. It is only the Anarchist theory which rejects both; and Anti-militarism is the first step on the road to Anarchism. That is a point to be remembered by many pious folk, and selfish folk, and utopian dreamers also. So well is it understood by the members of the Anarchist fraternity that of more recent years all of their greatest, most deter-

mined and persistent efforts have been directed against Militarism in every form.. If the Socialists on their side also oppose it, that is because, such as it exists, it forms an obstacle to their ascendency. Once in power, however, they would revive and strengthen it for their own purposes."

And the good patriot empties his heart of the following commonplaces: "Whilst we continue to love our country, whilst we are beholders to the State for good and orderly government and protection and the furtherance of all the interests of the community, it is our duty to guard our country from those who may wish it ill, and to support the State by personal service."

To this outpouring we say Amen!

SYNDICALIST TENDENCIES IN THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT

By MAX BAGINSKI.

IN the beginning of May, 1886, 366,000 organized American workingmen voiced the demand for the eight-hour day. It was made in connection with a demonstration of 15,000 employees of the Gould Southwestern railroad lines that took place some weeks previously to protest against the miserably low wages. The latter ranged, in some places, between 55-75 cents per day.

Of the 366,000 workers, 150,000 immediately won their demands, as we learn from Sartorius von Waltershauten in his book "Modern Socialism in the United States." 216,000 men participated in the strike. Of this number 42,000 gained the eight-hour day, so that altogether 192,000 men won their demands.

It is conceivable that these self-reliant, aggressive workers, permeated with what to-day is known as the syndicalist spirit, drew upon themselves the fury of the plutocracy. Brutal persecution followed, the cry being raised that the country was in danger of Anarchy. In Chicago, then the firing line of the movement, the most able and energetic men of labor were brought to trial,

which ended with the since historically branded judicial murder of five of the accused.

Under this hard pressure labor here and there lost the gained advantage. However, more than a 100,000 men enjoyed a workday shortened by one hour, and in some instances even by 3 and 4 hours.

This first great struggle of the American proletariat bore the chief features of syndicalism. The eight-hour day, and the consequent numerous strikes, became the cause of the workers in all the industries. General direct action, the solidarity of the different branches took the place of isolated craft conflicts. It was the initial step toward the general strike, which modern syndicalists advocate as the most effective weapon toward final emancipation from wage slavery.

That notwithstanding severe police persecution and oppression a comparatively great success was attained, was due mainly to the fact that the lines of battle were sharply drawn: arbitration, impartial conferences, and well-meaning go-betweens were not permitted to obscure the situation.

The strength of a movement depends on the clarity and determination of its aim and activities. A common cause, the vision of an ideal that is rooted in the soil of material existence and yet opens up new horizons of a grander future, is more effective in cementing the ranks of labor than the external successes with which so-called conservative labor leaders seek to satisfy the workers.

This inspiring vision is embodied in the syndicalist idea that the primal condition for the emancipation of labor is the abrogation of wage slavery. The syndicalists refuse to be bound by year-long contracts, based upon the continuation of the wage system and thus sanctioning the same. They regard strikes and sabotage as the outposts for the establishment of a communist commonwealth in which there shall be no trusts, either capitalist or labor.

The difference between the French *Confédération Generale du Travail*, the organization which at present best expresses the syndicalist spirit, and the American Federation of Labor can be defined as follows: The French labor body is a consciously revolutionary, pro-

letarian organization, while the A. F. of L., intellectually and in point of principle, represents no particular attitude.

Nearest to the syndicalist idea is in America the organization of the I. W. W. In contrast to the A. F. of L., which consists of craft organizations, each independently making contracts with the employers, the I. W. W. propagates industrial unity. It is a long step forward. It signifies, first of all, the abolition of the petty, egotistic spirit of branch grouping, and the development instead of general solidarity and the active operation of all the workers of an industry. Thus, if the employees of the Harriman railroad lines were to use their energies along syndicalist ideas, all the workers of the system would immediately join the strike and thus make it impossible for the company to continue its crippled traffic—a situation detrimental to the interests of the strikers and threatening their success, as well as dangerous to the traveling public.

Not corporation but cooperation is the motto of syndicalism. Cooperation and solidarity not merely in national, but also in the international struggles of the proletariat.

Syndicalist tendencies also characterize the strike of the textile workers in Lawrence, Mass., which at the present writing seems to be assuming larger proportions. The situation imperatively demands a general strike. Moreover, this does not apply only to Lawrence, or any separate industrial district, but to the whole country. The general strike is in the air. It forces itself upon the workers through the logic of conditions: compared with the tremendous combines of capital, the little craft strikes are as ineffectual as a worn-out, ancient spinning wheel in comparison with the modern giant steam loom.

A feature of the Lawrence strike, worthy particular consideration, is the manner in which the manufacturers seek to profit by the labor laws. Several union leaders of the quality of those who dance attendance in legislative lobbies, recently proclaimed their success in having a labor bill made into law by the lawgivers of Massachusetts. It provided that women and minors should not be employed for more than 54 hours in any

one week, as against the 56 hours previously in force. But now it has become apparent that this labor law, like most of similar makeshifts, is a paper miscarriage. It was passed as a result of a miserable compromise between the labor leaders and the textile magnates. It was promised to the manufacturers that they shall in future have peace—no more demands should hereafter be made upon them, no strikes be put in operation, if they would permit the passage of the labor bill. The mill owners gladly agreed. They realized that the indirect political activity would prove much cheaper to them than the possible direct economic tactics of the workers. The law became operative, and the manufacturers —on the strength of the leaders' promise of a free hand in the factories—at once began to take advantage of the new statute by reducing the wages from 10-15 per cent. They had made peace with the labor leaders!

This foul peace has fortunately been destroyed by the strike. But the diplomatic leaders are lustily assuring the manufacturers and the press that the revolt of the textile workers is not "sanctioned,"—not sanctioned by those who should consider themselves lucky if they are not ignominously driven from the ranks of labor.

Considering the failure of labor laws, the failure of labor politics, and the bitter disappointments the toilers have suffered at the ballot box, and necessarily must always suffer, it is time the workers should turn to the inherent power residing in them as producers—their economic power. The beginning has already been made. Forward! The shortest way is the best.

THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION

By VOLTAIRINE DE CLEYRE

(*Conclusion.*)

In the first place, the abominable political combination, which gave away as recklessly as a handful of soap-bubbles, the agricultural resources of Mexico, gave them away to the millionaire speculators who were to *develop the country*—were the educated men of Mexico. And this is what they saw fit to do with their higher intelligence and education. So the ignorant may well distrust the good intentions of educated men who talk about improvements in land development.

In the second place, capitalistic landownership, so far from developing the land in such a manner as to support a denser population, has depopulated whole districts, immense districts.

In the third place, what the economists do not say is, that the only justification for intense cultivation of the land is, that the product of such cultivation may build up the bodies of men (by consequence their souls) to richer and fuller manhood. It is not merely to pile up figures of so many million bushels of wheat and corn produced in a season; but that this wheat and corn shall first go into the stomachs of those who planted it,—and in abundance; to build up the brawn and sinew of the arms that work the ground, not meanly maintaining them in a half-starved condition. And second, to build up the strength of the rest of the nation who are willing to give needed labor in exchange. But never to increase the fortunes of idlers who dissipate it. This is the purpose, and the only purpose, of tilling soil! and the working of it for any other purpose is *waste*, waste both of land and of men.

In the fourth place, no change ever was, or ever can be, worked out in any society, except by the mass of the people. Theories may be propounded by educated people, and set down in books, and discuss d in libraries, sitting-rooms and lecture halls; but they will remain barren, unless the people in mass work them out. If the change proposed is such that it is not adaptable to the minds of the people for whose ills it is supposed to be a remedy, then it will remain what it was, a barren theory.

Now the conditions in Mexico have been and are so desperate that some change is imperative. The action of the peasants proves it. Even if a strong military dictator shall arise, he will have to allow some provision going towards peasant proprietorships. These unlettered but determined people must be dealt with *now;* there is no such thing as "waiting till they are educated up to it." Therefore the wisdom of the economists is wisdom out of place,—rather, *relative unwisdom.* The people never *can* be educated, if their conditions are to remain what they were under the Diaz régime. Bodies and minds are both too impov-

erished to be able to profit by a spread of theoretical education, even if it did not require unavailable money and indefinite time to prepare such a spread. Whatever economic change is wrought, then, must be such as the people in their present state of comprehension can understand and make use of. And we see by the reports what they understand. They understand they have a right upon the soil, a right to use it for themselves, a right to drive off the invader who has robbed them, to destroy landmarks and title-deeds, to ignore the tax-gatherer and his demands.

And however primitive their agricultural methods may be, one thing is sure: that they are more economical than any system which heaps up fortunes by destroying men.

Moreover, who is to say how they may develop their methods once they have a free opportunity to do so? It is a common belief of the Anglo-Saxon that the Indian is essentially lazy. The reasons for his thinking so are two: under the various tyrannies and robberies which white men in general, and Anglo-Saxons in particular (they have even gone beyond the Spaniard) have inflicted upon Indians, there is no possible reason why an Indian should want to work, save the idiotic one that work in itself is a virtuous and exalted thing, even if by it the worker increases the power of his tyrant. As Wm. Archer says: "If there are men, *and this is not denied,* who work for no wage, and with no prospect or hope of any reward, it would be curious to know by what motive other than the lash or the fear of the lash, they are induced to go forth to their labor in the morning." The second reason is, that an Indian really has a different idea of what he is alive for than an Anglo-Saxon has. And so have the Latin peoples. This different idea is what I meant when I said that the mestiza have certain tendencies inherited from the Latin side of their make-up which work well together with their Indian hatred of authority. The Indian likes to *live;* to be his own master; to work when he pleases and stop when he pleases. He does not crave many things, but he craves the enjoyment of the things that he has. He feels himself more a part of nature than a white man does. All his

legends are of wanderings with nature, of forests, fields, streams, plants, animals. He wants to live with the same liberty as the other children of earth. His philosophy of work is, Work so as to live care-free. This is not laziness; this is sense,—to the person who has that sort of make-up.

Your Latin, on the other hand, also wants to live; and having artistic impulses in him, his idea of living is very much in gratifying them. He likes music and song and dance, picture-making, carving, and decorating. He doesn't like to be forced to create his fancies in a hurry; he likes to fashion them, and admire them, and improve and refashion them, and admire again; and all for the fun of it. If he is ordered to create a certain design or a number of objects at a fixed price in a given time, he loses his inspiration; the play becomes work, and hateful work. So he, too, does not want to work, except what is requisite to maintain himself in a position to do those things that he likes better.

Your Anglo-Saxon's idea of life, however, is to create the useful and the profitable,—whether he has any use or profit out of it or not, and to keep busy, BUSY; to bestir himself "Like the devil in a holy water font." Like all other people, he makes a special virtue of his own natural tendencies, and wants all the world to "get busy"; it doesn't so much matter to what end this business is to be conducted, provided the individual—scrabbles. Whenever a true Anglo-Saxon seeks to enjoy himself, he makes work out of that too, after the manner of a certain venerable English shopkeeper who, in company with his son, visited the Louvre. Being tired out with walking from room to room, consulting his catalogue and reading artists' names, he dropped down to rest, but after a few moments rose resolutely and faced the next room, saying, "Well, Alfred, we'd better be getting through our work."

There is much question as to the origin of these various instincts. Most people have the impression that the chief source of variation lies in the difference in the amount of sunlight received in the native countries inhabited of the various races. Whatever the

origin is, these are the broadly marked tendencies of the people. And "business" seems bent not only upon fulfilling its own fore-ordained destiny, but upon making all the others fulfil it too, which is both unjust and stupid. There is room enough in the world for the races to try out their several tendencies and make their independent contributions to the achievements of humanity without imposing them on those who revolt at them.

Granting that the population of Mexico, if freed from this foreign "busy" idea which the government imported from the north and imposed on them with such severity in the last forty years, would not immediately adopt improved methods of cultivation, even when they should have free opportunity to do so, still we have no reason to conclude that they would not adopt so much of it as would fit their idea of what a man is alive for; and if that actually proved good, it would introduce still further development, so that there would be a natural and therefore solid economic growth which would stick; while a forced development of it, through the devastation of the people, is no true growth. The only way to make it go is to kill out the Indians altogether and transport the "busy" crowd there, and then keep on transporting for several generations to fill up the ravages the climate will make on such an imported population.

The Indian population of our states was, in fact, dealt with in this murderous manner. I do not know how grateful the reflection may be to those who materially profited by its extermination, but no one who looks forward to the final unification and liberation of man, to the incorporation of the several goodnesses of the various races in the one universal race, can ever read those pages of our history without burning shame and fathomless regret.

I have spoken of the meaning of revolution in general; of the meaning of the Mexican Revolution—chiefly an agrarian one; of its present condition. I think it should be apparent to you that in spite of the electoral victory of the now ruling power, it has not put an end even to the armed rebellion, and cannot until it proposes some plan of land restoration; and

that it not only has no inward disposition to do, but probably would not dare to do, in view of the fact that immense capital financed it into power.

As to what amount of popular sentiment was actually voiced in the election, it is impossible to say. The dailies informed us that "in the Federal District where there are 1,000,000 voters, the actual vote was less than 450,000." They offered no explanation. It is impossible to explain it on the ground that we explain a light vote in our own communities, that the people are indifferent to public questions; for the people of Mexico are not now indifferent whatever else they may be. Two explanations are possible; the first and most probable, that of governmental intimidation; the second, that the people are convinced of the uselessness of voting as a means of settling their troubles. In the less thickly populated agricultural states, this is very largely the case; they are relying upon direct revolutionary action. But although there was guerilla warfare in the Federal District, even before the election, I find it very unlikely that more than half the voting population there abstained from voting out of conviction, though I should be glad to be able to believe they did. However, Madero and his aids are in, as was expected. The question is, how will they stay in? As Diaz did, and in no other way—if they succeed in developing Diaz' sometime ability, which so far they are wide from having done, though they are resorting to the most vindictive and spiteful tactics in their persecution of the genuine revolutionists wherever such come near their clutch.

To this whole turbulent situation, three outcomes are possible:

1. A military dictator must arise with sense enough to make some substantial concessions, and ability enough to pursue the crushing policy ably; or

2. The United States must intervene in the interests of American capitalists and landholders, in case the peasant revolt is not put down by the Maderist power. And that will be the worst thing that can possibly happen, and against which every worker in the U. S. should protest with all his might; or

3. The Mexican peasantry will be successful, and

freedom in land become an actual fact. And that means the death-knell of great landholding in this country also. For what people is going to see its neighbors enjoy so great a triumph, and sit on tamely itself under landlordism.

Whatever the outcome be, one thing is certain, it is a great movement, which all the people of the world should be eagerly watching. Yet, as I said at the beginning, the majority of our population know no more about it than of a revolt on the planet Jupiter. First, because they are so busy, they scarcely have time to look over the baseball score and the wrestling match; how could they read up on a revolution! Second, they are supremely egotistic and concerned in their own big country with its big deeds, such as divorce scandals, vice grafting, and auto races. Third, they do not read Spanish, and have an ancient hostility to all that smells Spanish. Fourth, from our cradles we were told that whatever happened in Mexico was a joke. Revolutions, or rather rebellions, came and went about like April showers, and they never meant anything serious. And in this indeed there was only too much truth; it was usually an excuse for one place-hunter to get another one's scalp. And lastly, as I have said, the majority of our people do not know that a revolution means a fundamental change in social life, and not a spectacular display of armies.

It is not much a few can do to remove this mountain of indifference; but to me it seems that every reformer, of whatever school, should wish to watch this movement with the most intense interest, as a practical manifestation of a wakening of the land-workers themselves to the recognition of what all schools of revolutionary economics admit to be the primal necessity,—the social repossession of the land.

And whether they are victorious or defeated, I, for one, bow my head to those heroic strugglers, no matter how ignorant they are, who have raised the cry, Land and Liberty, and planted the blood-red banner on the burning soil of Mexico.

A LETTER FROM W. C. OWEN

Editor MOTHER EARTH.

Dear Sir and Comrade:—I feel justified in sending you and other Anarchist editors this open letter, because I have been for years a propagandist of the great cause it is your duty and privilege to support. I wish to suggest to you that the Mexican Revolution is a gigantic fact.

I have been a fairly close student of our international movement and I say, without hesitation, that the Mexican Revolution appears to me the most direct, practical and powerful attack on government and the money power made during the last forty years. It seems to me monstrous that a portion of the Anarchist press should ignore and even antagonize it.

Nowhere else have tens of thousands risen in arms not merely against the existing government, but against the very idea of government. Nowhere else have they seized possession of the land, divided among themselves the crops their labor produced and proceeded spontaneously to cultivate it on their own account. Nowhere else have the workers of entire States united to enforce their demands, arms in hand, where they have possessed arms. Nowhere else are authority and the money power being attacked so fiercely.

Let me point out that plutocracy's invasion of Mexico has been the most rapid and ruthless on record, and that, therefore, the consequent revolt was certain to be correspondingly vigorous and violent. That revolt may not interest the Socialists, for their leaders have no use for anything except the ballot; but surely it should be of profound interest to Anarchists.

If the long list of martyrs which the Mexican Liberal Party can show is not sufficient evidence of its position and good faith, I invite your attention to its manifesto, a translation of which I enclose.* It was published and distributed by the thousands in September last, and was published again in *Regeneracion*

*Owing to lack of space, the manifesto will appear in the next issue.

of January 20, 1911. That is the manifesto of revolutionists of the most advanced type; not of politicians. I invite you to study it because this matter is of supreme importance to the revolutionary movement which it is your privilege to supply, as nearly as posible, with reliable information.

My own personal interest lies solely in the ultimate triumph of Anarchism, which I regard as destined to emancipate the world. Fraternally,

WM. C. OWEN;
Editor English Section, *Regeneracion.*

* * *

COMRADES OF MOTHER EARTH

THE enclosed tells the story. Anarchy was put on trial again before a prejudiced jury, and though it was not exonerated in the court room, the public got to hear a good deal about it in its true light, and as a consequence, though I may go to jail for a while, the propaganda has gained a lot by this persecution.

The judge has not yet pronounced sentence. I am out on bail, and the conditions demand that we appeal. Besides, it is the wish of Schroeder that we do so.

Of course it will take money to carry it up. There is a big "record" to have transcribed and printed for the Supreme Court.

It's all in the fight. We must expect it. Those who don't, better get out of the struggle. Persecution helps us to find ourselves and those seriously in the fight. Yours for Freedom,

Home, Wash. JAY FOX.

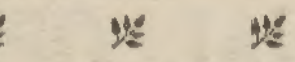
* * *

FREE COMMUNISM—Voluntary economic co-operation of all towards the needs of each. A social arrangement based on the principle: To each according to his needs; from each according to his ability.

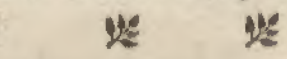
AN INTERESTING EVENT

AMONG the most, if not the most, interesting events of the season in radical ranks of New York were the two debates, in Carnegie Hall and the Republic Theater, between Sol Fieldman, for Socialism and Political Action, and Emma Goldman, for Anarchism and Direct Action. Most interesting, because of the fact that it was the first time that a local Socialist met an Anarchist in public debate in this city.

A verbatim report of the debates will appear in pamphlet form very soon. We shall, therefore, not go into a detailed account, nor yet pass an opinion as to who earned the laurels on the two occasions. We mention the event mainly because of the wonderful spirit of solidarity displayed on both evenings on behalf of the Lawrence Strikers. $532 odd dollars were collected at Carnegie Hall, and $142 at the Republic Theater. It may have been the splendid appeals made by "Bill" Haywood at the first debate, and by Elizabeth Gurley Flynn at the Republic Theater, that inspired the generous response. Yet more likely, it was the growing spirit in behalf of direct action, as displayed in Lawrence that enthused the audiences.



ANARCHISM—The philosophy of a new social order based on liberty unrestricted by man-made law; the theory that all forms of government rest on violence, and are therefore wrong and harmful, as well as unnecessary.



WANTED

We are anxious to bind volumes of MOTHER EARTH, but find ourselves short in the following copies: May 1906, March, May and December 1907, Jan. 1908, June and Dec. 1909, and Jan., Feb., March, Apr., May, Aug. and Sept. 1910.

Friends willing to let us have these copies will greatly assist us. We are, of course, ready to pay for the missing numbers.

Any one wishing to sell his copy of Max Stirner's "Ego and His Own," we will buy it. Let us hear from you soon.

BEN L. REITMAN.

TO THE OUTCAST

By SAXE.

TO live each day with no care for the morrow; to glory in the beauty of the sun and the stars; to be free of all restraint that I may live and love —all this I cannot do now, all this is impossible in modern society. Therefore I cast myself out, I refuse to do as I am bidden, I refuse to sacrifice my life, my ideals, my physical and mental strength that parasites may live in sensual comfort and wealth.

I, in turn, have become the parasite that I may live as becomes the man. It matters not at whose expense. Base Society must support its own legitimate children, and I am Protest, the black sheep of her family of sin. With the aid of my mother, Society, I have developed a complex individuality capable of expressing itself in manifold forms. Now I am the prostitute, then the thief, the murderer. And, with the development of treachery and deceit in Society, my nature and personality becomes more and more complex. I AM PROTEST, THE OUTCAST.

AN UNUSUAL OPPORTUNITY

We offer a small library on Anarchism consisting of the following books:

ANARCHISM, by Eltzbacher. An able and impartial exposition of Anarchism **$1.50**

WHAT IS PROPERTY? by Proudhon A brilliant arraignment of property and the state . **2.00**

CONQUEST OF BREAD, by Peter Kropotkin. The economic basis of Anarchism .. **1.00**

ANARCHISM AND OTHER ESSAYS, by Emma Goldman **1.00**

MOTHER EARTH, a monthly magazine devoted to literary and revolutionary topics **1.00**

Total $6.50

This set every social student should own. Send your order at once and get these books for **$5.00**

MOTHER EARTH SERIES

Bound volumes Mother Earth. .	@	$2.00
Psychology of Political Violence — Emma Goldman		10c.
Anarchism: What It Really Stands For — Emma Goldman		10c.
Marriage and Love — Emma Goldman		10c.
Patriotism — Emma Goldman		5c.
What I Believe — Emma Goldman		5c.
Anarchy Versus Socialism — William C. Owen		5c.
What Is Worth While? — Adeline Champney		5c.
The Right to Disbelieve — Edwin Kuh		5c.
Anarchism and American Traditions — Voltairine de Cleyre		5c.
Crime and Punishment — C. D. Light		5c.
The Dominant Idea — Voltairine de Cleyre		5c.
Anarchism and Malthus — C. L. James		5c.
The Modern School — Francisco Ferrer		5c.

ANARCHISM

AND OTHER ESSAYS

By EMMA GOLDMAN

¶ Including a biographic SKETCH of the author's interesting career, a splendid PORTRAIT, and twelve of her most important lectures, some of which have been suppressed by the police authorities of various cities. This book expresses the most advanced ideas on social questions—economics, politics, education and sex.

Second Revised Edition

Emma Goldman—the notorious, insistent, rebellious, enigmatical Emma Goldman—has published her first book, "Anarchism and Other Essays." In it she records "the mental and soul struggles of twenty-one years," and recites all the articles of that strange and subversive creed in behalf of which she has suffered imprisonment, contumely and every kind of persecution. The book is a vivid revelation of a unique personality. It appears at a time when Anarchistic ideas are undoubtedly in the ascendant throughout the world.—*Current Literature.*

Emma Goldman's book on "Anarchism and Other Essays" ought to be read by all so-called respectable women, and adopted as a text-book by women's clubs throughout the country. . . . For courage, persistency, self-effacement, self-sacrifice in the pursuit of her object, she has hitherto been unsurpassed among the world's women. . . . Repudiating as she does practically every tenet of what the modern State holds good, she stands for some of the noblest traits in human nature.—*Life.*

Every thoughtful person ought to read this volume of papers by the foremost American Anarchist. In whatever way the book may modify or strengthen the opinion already held by its readers, there is no doubt that a careful reading of it will tend to bring about greater social sympathy. It will help the public to understand a group of serious-minded and morally strenuous individuals, and also to feel the spirit that underlies the most radical tendencies of the great labor movement of our day.—Hutchins Hapgood in *The Bookman.*

Price $1.00 By Mail $1.10

ORDER THROUGH YOUR BOOK DEALER OR SEND TO

Mother Earth Publishing Association

55 WEST 28th STREET, NEW YORK